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The Situation in China and the Remedy.

Whether another great uprising against foreigners takes place or not in China, there is no question that the situation is critical. The boycott against American merchants and goods has subsided in places, but elsewhere it still continues, and the dislike for Americans is reported to be stronger than for foreigners of other nationalities. The ferment is widespread, and attacks upon foreigners seem liable to occur at any moment. A family of English and some French missionaries at Nanchang in the province of Kiangsi have just been massacred, and the American Methodist missionaries at that place have been compelled to flee in a boat down the river for their lives. Gun-boats and warships are being hurried to the scene, and special precautions are being taken for the safety of the legations at Pekin.

The trouble at Nanchang is reported to be due to local causes, but common hatred of foreigners is considered to be at the root of the disturbance in general. This being the case, there is grave reason to fear that outbreaks may occur in many places, and that we may be compelled to witness a repetition of the horrors of the Boxer uprising. The Chinese government is reported at Washington to have offered full reparation for the British and French subjects massacred at Nan-

chang, and directed the officials of the city to punish the offenders. That may have a local quieting effect, but it is doubtful if it does much to check the anti-foreign movement in general. The general government at Pekin and the viceroys of the provinces, remembering the fearful punishment meted out by the foreign forces at the time of the Boxer trouble, will doubtless put forth their utmost efforts to prevent the people from committing again the outrages of that time. But even this may fail to hold in check the excited masses, whose hatred of foreigners has been deepening for many years, as a result of the foreign injustices to which the empire at home and its people abroad have been subjected.

It has been painful to notice that in the discussions in this country of the new critical situation in China scarcely a word has been said as to the real root of the difficulty, and still less as to the manner in which such situations may be effectually prevented in the future. Better treatment of the Chinese who are here and a more humane interpretation and application of the exclusion law have been urged, the people and press generally supporting the President in his recommendations. That is good as far as it goes, but it goes only a very little way.

Does anybody suppose that the now deep-rooted dislike of Americans and American trade in China can be radically changed so long as the entire working class of their four hundred millions are by statute excluded from our shores as unworthy to live and to labor among us? Right action by our government here would remedy the trouble in a very short time, and nothing else will ever do it. Congress has been utterly silent about the matter, while our citizens across the Pacific have been brought again into peril of their lives. There has been loud talk of more warships and a bigger army in the Philippines for an "emergency," but that is all; the real question has not been hinted at. Is there not a man in the national halls of legislation who has vision enough to see the root of the matter, and courage enough to make the attempt to rouse the stupefied conscience of the nation? If justice—elemental justice—were done to the Chinese as a people by us, we should have no greater friends and admirers than in the Celestial empire, and it is quite probable that under such conditions our citizens out there, both missionaries and others, would not be compelled to suffer with Europeans, in the political crimes of whose governments against China we have happily not been sharers.

If the trouble deepens and a general uprising against foreigners, including the legations, occurs, we shall have a repetition of the unspeakable atrocities of the Boxer time. The governments having dealings with China are not yet on a plane sufficiently high to prevent such situations, or to meet them when they arise in any other way than by force, answering violence with violence, and massacre and burning with butcheries and "punitive expeditions." So we shall have, to the renewed shame of civilization, a fresh exhibition of the "tender mercies" of the bayonet and the spitting rapid-fire gun, of devastating invasions and—but we will not attempt to lift the curtain. God forbid that such things be ever again witnessed! Let our country without delay rescind the Chinese exclusion law, put Chinese immigrants on the same basis as others, turn its ear away from the boom of cannon and the crack of the rifle to the still small voice of justice and humanity, and it may yet be able to lead the nations, in their dealings with the East, into the paths of right, peace and honor.

How Far Will Arbitration Go?

In his sermon on "God is Love," in Appleton Chapel, Harvard University, on Sabbath evening, February 18, Rev. Henry Van Dyke, of Princeton University, used, as reported, these words:

"I thank God that the time has come when wars are no longer waged in the sacred name of religion. Civilization was never advanced a step by the sword or the bayonet; civilization has floated in between the leaves of the Bible. The greatest movement of the nineteenth century was the beginning of the substitution of arbitration for war. We do not know how far it will go, but we do know that it is progressing along Christian lines."

The "it" of this last sentence probably refers to the word movement in the preceding sentence, but logically the sentence means: "We do not know how far the substitution of arbitration for war will go."

This is of course true if we look at the matter in any absolute way. Nobody can forecast, in specific terms and dates, exactly what the final formal outcome of the arbitration movement will be; but that is the only sense in which the assertion is true. In a general way it is very easy to forecast how far arbitration will go and what it will do. We have only to base our reasoning upon the past—upon what has already been done, even in the lifetime of men not yet old, to determine what the end of it is to be. We *know* this about as well as anything can be known by the reasoning process without direct intuitive perception.

Dr. Van Dyke's phraseology, "the beginning of the substitution of arbitration for war," is modest, but it is hardly true to the facts. Much more has been accomplished than the *beginning* of the substi-

tution of arbitration for war. That would have been true fifty years ago, when only about thirty international disputes had been settled by this pacific means; but during the last half of the century just closed the number of controversies submitted to arbitration multiplied so rapidly that by the end of the century the number had risen to more than two hundred, or, if small and comparatively unimportant settlements through mixed commissions and otherwise be counted in, to more than five hundred. From 1895 to 1905, ten years, there have been four wars: the China-Japan War, the Spanish-American-Philippine War, the Boer War and the Russo-Japanese War. If we add to these the Boxer conflict, the German war in Southwestern Africa, the Venezuela blockade, the Thibet expedition and the Panama revolution, we have nine conflicts in which arms played a part—in one of them on the most colossal scale. But during this same decade the nations resorted to arbitration more than one hundred times, many of the cases being most important and often very delicate and sometimes threatening.

This is certainly more than a *beginning*; it is a habit, a settled and general practice, compared with which war has been rare and infrequent. Arbitration has become a fixed and prominent part of the international social and political order. It is no longer an experiment. It is a part of the common law of the nations.

But the above is not all. In this same period of ten years the Hague Conference has been held and the Great Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Controversies has been adopted by twenty-two of the powers of the world, including all the most important. The Permanent International Court of Arbitration has been set up and is now in successful operation, having already adjudicated four controversies. It was at first "voluntary," no nations having pledged themselves in the Hague Convention to submit their differences to it. But it is no longer entirely so. Within two years no less than forty treaties of obligatory arbitration have been signed (exclusive of the eleven signed by the late Secretary Hay), the most of which have been ratified and stipulate reference to the Hague Court for five years of all disputes of a judicial order and those arising in the interpretation and application of treaties. Fifteen of the powers which signed the Hague Convention are parties each to one or more of these treaties, nearly the whole of Western Europe being by them bound together in arbitration bonds. The treaty between The Netherlands and Denmark makes no reservations as to either time or kinds of controversies. The new treaty between Norway and Sweden, since their separation, provides that even the question as to whether a case involves "vital interests" or "honor" shall be submitted to the Hague tribunal. The important treaty between